the WOMAN VOTER

CONVENTIONS AND ELECTIONS

THE SHIFT IN ANTI-SUFFRAGE

THE GOVERNOR DID SIGN

STATE SUFFRAGE SCHOOLS

FEBRUARY, 1917

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THE WOMAN VOTER

FEBRUARY 1917

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

First Victory of 1917

ALMOST co-incident with the opening of the campaign in New York City comes the news of the first suffrage success of the year. North Dakota has swung into line! By statutory measure the state legislature has given to the women of the state all the political right it is able to bestow. The Governor has signed the bill, and it is a law becoming effective on July 1st.

Though the gift is limited suffrage, it includes presidential suffrage. That means an addition of five to the electoral votes of the equal suffrage states. In 1920 politicians will have to take the woman vote into consideration in plans to put North Dakota into any particular party column.

Without going into details of the extent of the voting privilege, we take the North Dakota victory as a happy omen of our own success. In other states the question of at least presidential suffrage is under consideration; inaugural speeches in more or less warmth of tone have advocated votes for women; the political conscience is at least dimly recognizing that party pledges are made to be redeemed not to be broken.

Our opponents can busy themselves with deductions and conclusions whether the women of the suffrage states did or did not exert marked influence on the result of the recent election. They may talk about "duplicate voting" and increased expense" to their heart's content. We do grudge them a harmless amusement. We know we have won North Dakota, and we are hopeful that Tennessee is coming in as number fourteen, and both knowledge and hope serve to deepen the enthusiasm with which we line up for our own campaign.

THE conventions of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City have had a vivifying effect upon the whole organization. A feeling of responsibility fills borough chairmen, leaders and captains; there is very little talk about duty and obligation, but there is evident a quiet determination to roll up a record-breaking majority next November in the City of New York. A great deal of work has been done the past twelve month which has been plain, hard grubbing, devoid of spectacular features and a test of personal devotion to the cause. The result of this work will be manifest at the proper time. The organization is more complete than ever before and the plans of our General Staff have been perfected to a high degree. The "house next door" is doing its part in bringing about greater efficiency. Officers and committees have room to work in comfort, clerks and stenographers have space, light and air and a vast amount of business is easily handled. From now to election day 48-50 East 34th Street will be the scene of greater activity than in 1915 when our friends, since removed, across the way couldn't keep tabs on the constant stream of suffrage workers going in and out.

THE slogan this year is "Ballots for Both," an excellent and significant slogan, understandable to everyone except to the confirmed antis who, poor things, always regard their suffrage sisters as an alien caste. But our cry is not a mad war shout it is the call for co-operation and comradeship, for equality in opportunity and work. Not a demand for what belongs to somebody else, but a firm asking for what is ours by human right.

WITH deep regret we record the passing away on January 15th of Mrs. Isabel G. Barker, long identified with suffrage work in Brooklyn. Mrs. Barker was one of the most active members of the Party in Brooklyn. When a few years ago misunderstanding and dissension threatened the very existence of the association, it was she who through her compelling personality and executive ability drew together the best element among the suffragists and re-established the organization on a firm basis. For several years Mrs. Barker served as a district leader, and then as Director from the Borough of Manhattan she became a member of the Board of Directors of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. In this latter capacity her service was invaluable. Her judgment was clear, her manner calm and temperate, her conclusions were always sound and free from prejudice. In the 1915 campaign Mrs. Barker did heroic work as organizer and speaker, and her logical, convincing addresses made many a convert to the suffrage cause. Her associates and friends will miss her helpful counsel and words of cheer. Her consecration and devotion to what she held as a sacred cause will keep her memory green in the hearts of those who worked with her, and held her in affection and admiration.

YOUNG LOCHINVAR is not the only good and forceful thing that has come out of the West. The Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association has sent out the strongest and best of resolutions as the foreword of the program of its annual convention. Here it is; every suffragist in the State should "read, learn, mark" and both inwardly and outwardly adopt this resolution and make it her suffrage creed for the coming months:

Suffrage Resolution

"I am but one, but I am one; I can not do everything, but I can do something; what I can do I ought to do, what I ought to do I WILL."

To Train Speakers.

The Educational Section of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party has arranged, as a part of its Suffrage Training Schools, to have Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale conduct afternoon and evening classes in Public Speaking.

The dates for the afternoon classes are February 19th, 23rd, 26th, and 28th, and March 2nd, at 4 o'clock. The evening classes will be held at 8.30 o'clock on February 20th, 23rd, 27th, and March 2nd.

The lectures will be given in Room 2003, 303 Fifth Avenue. A Season Membership Ticket to the Educational Section entitles any one to attend or single admission can be obtained at the door for 25 cents.

Three Thousand Endorse Suffrage Amendment.

Three thousand people endorsed the federal suffrage amendment at an enthusiastic meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, recently. It was not a suffrage meeting either. It was a meeting of the Humanitarian Cult and as at most meetings of forward-looking people these days, suffrage crept in. Henry Morgenthau, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, presided. The Suffrage resolution adopted reads as follows:

"In view of the serious problems ahead of this country, necessitating much immediate humanitarian legislation, which we believe cannot be carried out effectively without the co-operation of women, we urge the immediate passage at this session of Congress of the Susan B. Anthony Federal suffrage amendment so that it can be submitted without further delay to the States for ratification."

The Suffrage Missionary.

In Texas women are sending out from San Antonia a "missionary car" every Saturday to some town within a radius of fifty miles. The project is under the direction of the San Antonio Equal Franchise Society. The "missionary" goes into each community twice, two weeks intervening between visits. The first trip is for the purpose of advertisement, to arrange for meetings to be held on the second trip and to get into touch with the leading men and women of the towns and with the newspapers. As a result of these manoeuvres, there have been well attended street and indoor meetings, the formation of suffrage clubs, the enrollment of many sympathizers, the development of new workers and the arousing of the country newspapers to an interest in the suffrage cause.

Conventions and Elections

Miss Mary Garrett Hay

City Elections

AS we go to press the City Convention, the last of the January conventions, is yet to be held. The By-Laws of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City thoughtfully interrupts the sequence of conventions of January by interposing the election of City Officers between Borough and City Conventions.

The election, therefore, was held at Headquarters on January 23rd under the direction of the Board of Elections comprising a member from each borough with Mrs. Thomas Martin, of Bronx Borough, as chairman. The polls were open from two to six P. M., during which time the assembly district leaders cast their ballots according to instructions given at the several district conventions. The absence of any contest simplified the work of the Board, and lessened the time employed in counting the ballots.

The election resulted as follows: Chairman, Miss Mary Garrett Hay; Vice-Chairmen in numerical order, Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, Mrs. F. Robertson Jones, Miss Annie Doughty, Mrs. Sydney Borg, Mrs. Dudley Field Malone; Treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Thomas B. Wells; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Adaline W. Sterling; Directors, Manhattan, Dr. Katharine B. Davis; Bronx, Mrs. Louis Wetzmiller; Queens, Mrs. Joseph Fitch; Richmond, Mrs. Charles E. Simonson. The director from Brooklyn will be elected later by the Board of Directors of the Party.

The increased demands upon the officers during a campaign year necessitated the addition of three vice-chairmen. Distinct departments of work will be assigned to each vice-chairman, thereby lessening the labors of the head of the organization.

Miss Hay, by reason of her good judgment, ability, courage and optimism, commands the affection and admiration of the rank and file of the organization. Every one is more than ready to enter upon another campaign under her tried leadership, and with the willingness comes also the determination to make this a fight to the finish, the finish to be the enfranchisement of the women of New York. Ballots for Both this year!

Districts in Convention

THE first shot in the campaign of 1917 was fired by the Woman Suffrage Party of the city on January 9, when the members of the sixty-three assembly districts met simultaneously in convention. From the Battery to the Westchester line; throughout the stretch of the City of Churches; in Queens, of magnificent distances; and in Richmond, geographically exclusive, Party members turned out in force in their respective assembly districts. In some districts officers were re-elected, in others new leaders were chosen, choice everywhere being based upon efficiency and the necessities of the new campaign. A feature of the elections in many large districts was the enlargement of the administrative force by the addition of one or more vice-leaders.

In Manhattan, new leaders in the several districts are Miss Anna Kleinberg, in the 4th; Mrs. Katherine Cunningham, in the 5th; Mrs. Harris Koppelmann, a young lawyer, in the 8th; Mrs. A. Friptu, in the 10th; Miss Louise Flynn, in the 20th; Miss Josephine Schain, in the 24th; Dr. Emma Selkin Aronson, in the 26th; Mrs. Elfrida E. Bauer, in the 28th, and Miss Cammilla Morgan, in the 29th.

New Bronx leaders are Mrs. J. N. Dawson, in the 30th; Mrs. Frances Morrison, in the 33rd, and Mrs. J. K. Small, in the 35th. The 32nd district, which covers a large territory, remains in charge of Miss Alice V. Conklin, north, and Mrs. Thomas Martin, south.

Changes in Brooklyn occurred in the 1st district where Miss Martha Garside succeeds Mrs. Townsend Scudder. Miss Catherine Wiley becomes leader of the 2nd district; Mrs. Alexander Mackintosh, of the 4th; and Mrs. E. C. O'Connor, of the 9th. Other new leaders are Miss Virginia Alcott, 13th district; Mrs. Sadie Willner, 14th district; Mrs. Fred Raddatz, 15th district; Mrs. Charles Lesser, 16th district; Mrs. Louis Cohen, 19th district, and Mrs. Rose Waton, 23rd district.

The leaders in Queens are Mrs. Katharine Loughran, 1st district; Mrs. Joseph Sapinsky, 3rd district; and Mrs. Edward F. Taylor, 4th district. An election is soon to be called in the second district by the Borough Executive Board.

Richmond has but one assembly district, and the leader, Mrs. F. E. Brewer, was unanimously re-elected.

In several of the conventions, addresses by well known speakers followed the business session; among these districts were the 25th Manhattan, where Mrs. Frederick Edey spoke, the 19th of the same borough, the address being made by Dr. Katharine B. Davis, and the 15th, also of Manhattan, which enjoyed a stirring talk by Miss Katharine Devereux Blake. These districts were successful in securing money pledges for home work; the 25th led off with $450, the 19th, raised $700 and the 15th did best of all with $850. Collections and pledges in various amounts were received in all the boroughs.

There was snap and vim in all the district conventions, the members were all in fighting trim, ready to follow the plans of campaign from Headquarters.

Borough Conventions

THE week following the district conventions, January 16th, was the time set for the Borough Conventions. Four of these were held at the same hour in the evening while the fifth, Queens, took place in the afternoon.

The Woman Suffrage Party of Bronx Borough met at its headquarters, 406 E. 149th street at eight p. m. to hold the annual election for officers. As the vote was cast by the district leaders and there was only the one ticket in the field the election was not a lengthy matter, and in short time the inspector of election reported the unanimous choice of the following officers: Chairman, Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer; vice-chairmen, Miss Edith Bayreuther, Mrs. Charles Collins, Miss Ida M. Stadie, Mrs. William Swan, and Mrs. Olive Pierce; secretary, Mrs. L. E. Van Orsdale; financial secretary, Mrs. I. Hirleman; treasurer, Miss J. L. Gainey. Reports for the year showed the organization in excellent condition after a season's strenuous work. Encouraging accounts were given of the work in detail, especially the results of canvassing, and of interviewing politicians. The growth in suffrage sentiment is marked, and there is no longer need to explain the suffrage motive, the public generally knows. Plans for the campaign and methods of special propaganda were themes of discussion.

Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer

The re-election of Mrs. Palmer is a testimony of appreciation of her effective work of the past year. Miss Bayreuther has been transferred from the office of secretary to that of vice-leader. Among Mrs. Palmer's aides are Mrs. Olive Pierce, a long time suffragist, who as leader, carried her district in 1915, and Mrs. William Swan, former leader of the 35th district.

BROOKLYN held its yearly convention at Grant Hall, 489 Washington street, with a large attendance. The election which preceded the business session resulted as follows: Chairman, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier; vice-chairmen, Mrs. F. H. Cothren, Mrs. George Notman, Mrs. Alexander G. Calder, Jr., and Miss Ida Woolworth; treasurer, Mrs. Frederick L. Cranford; recording secretary, Miss Anna Wilber; corresponding secretary, Mrs. E. W. Macklin.

In her annual address, Mrs. Dreier emphasized the suffrage gains of 1916 as shown in the endorsement of all the National parties. "There are more suffrage workers in Brooklyn now than ever before," stated the Chairman, "we have enlisted women in active service who have been

Mrs. H. Edward Dreier

hitherto lukewarm or indifferent. Since the election we have realized that it is unfair for the women of the West to have political power and the women of the East to have none. But things are changing; reactionary forces are yielding everywhere to the growing cause of women."

Reviewing the local suffrage events of the year, Mrs. Dreier spoke of the assistance given in the police station Christmas trees for children, and the appreciation of the policemen who said no other political party remembered them. But the suffrage party was on hand and in some cases went in and furnished the entertainment.

The one note of sadness at the convention was the black line in the nominating ballot drawn through the name of Mrs. De Witt Parker, who passed away on January 15th after a brief illness. The office for which she was nominated was left unfilled.

LEADERS and delegates of Manhattan Borough met in the auditorium of the De Witt Clinton High School, 10th Avenue and 59th Street. The election was of special importance inasmuch as it involved an almost complete change of officers. The regular ticket which had been endorsed by all the district conventions was unanimously elected as follows: Chairman, Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins; vice-chairmen, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. Francis H. Cabot, Miss Ethel Stebbins, Miss Lillian Wald, Mrs. Edward S. Van Zile; recording secretary, Miss Virginia Thorburn; corresponding secretary, Miss Rozelia Belden, and treasurer, Mrs. Jarvis R. Fairchild.

Miss Annie Doughty, the retiring leader, presided at the regular meeting, and the election was in charge of Mrs. K. B. Withrow, leader of the 11th Assembly district. After the routine reports had been given, brief addresses were made by Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Miss Katharine Devereux Blake, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, and Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, who came as substitute for Mrs. Laidlaw, but who met with a reception purely personal. Mrs. Nathan spoke of the bill pending in Congress for the establishment of a Woman's Division in the Federal Department of Labor, and offered a resolution, unanimously carried, that the representatives in Congress from Manhattan Borough be urged to vote for the passage of this measure known as the Casey Bill.

Mr. Laidlaw told of the intended activity of the Men's League during the present campaign throughout the state. At the close of these addresses, the report of the tellers was made, and the newly-elected leader was presented to the delegates by Miss Doughty.

Mrs. Watkins' inaugural speech was forceful and full of suggestion of what is required from now until election day. The new leader said in part:

"I wish to thank the delegates for having chosen me as your Borough Chairman. Added to the natural pride and pleasure I feel in your selection, I'm really filled with humility at the thought of serving you. I know to fulfill the obligations of efficiency and success, much is required of the Chairman of Manhattan Borough. She must be a woman who is wise, also fundamentally a womanly woman capable of appealing to other women, and also to manly men. She must also be a woman of imagination and initiative. Do you wonder that I am filled with humility? Perhaps the only request of a personal nature I shall ever make to you as a body is that as soon as you shall find me lacking, for the sake of the Cause we both love, you apply to me the doctrine of 'the survival of the fittest' and dismiss me as an unworthy servant. Times are momentous, my friends, and we cannot stop to consider the individual woman except as she applies to group life.

In approaching the subject from the bottom up, as I think governmental questions should be approached, I should say that we need three general types of women in the suffrage work. Our election district captain should be the business getting type, energetic, keen, alert, who if she were a man would probably sell bonds or solicit insurance,—the kind of woman who can make other women and men appreciate her wares, whether they consist of securities or principles.

Let us say that the election district captain has done her best to interest the people of her district in suffrage but finds they will have none of it as it is presented. She should then have sagacity enough to go to her leader and say, 'my people don't care for suffrage as we are giving it

Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins

to them, I therefore suggest that we approach a certain group through their churches, another group through their nationality, or perhaps a third by talking prohibiton.' I think she should go so far as to find out whether or not they are interested in single tax, birth control, or even if they are pining for a society career. Such a captain as this is a kind of diagnostician feeling the pulse of her people, and, in conjunction with her superior officer, attempting to write the proper suffrage prescription for them.

The second type of woman is represented by our assembly district leaders and Borough chairmen. I should designate this woman as our operator type, and she should be the kind of woman who could be president of a bank, or a railroad, or run an electric light system, or a big hotel, she should at least be as able as the partner of any big firm. She ought to be a thinker—a big thinker, I mean habitually so, for there is nothing more pitiful in this world than trying to live up to a job that's too big for one. The only way to think big on big occasions is to think big every day, and on the other hand to be practical minded enough in the administration of suffrage affairs in district and borough to practice common kitchen economy.

Yes, friends, it must be our aim through knowledge and labor to make this particular borough of Manhattan a valuable piece of property, as much so as if it were the main holding or chiefest asset of a big corporation which is just exactly what it is. It is a most precious possession of the Woman Suffrage Party. I want you never to forget this fact. I urge you prove that you realize it by first demanding that which we need of brains, labor and money for our own success before we share our possessions. The State of New York will never forgive us if we fail to carry the Borough of Manhattan for suffrage in 1917. This we must and will do.

The third and highest officered type in the suffrage work is represented by the City Chairmen of a few of our greatest cities, State Chairmen and our National Chairman. For simplicity sake we will call all these women National Leaders. What kind of a woman should a national leader be? She should be a past master, herself instructed in all the arts of life, brave, patient, and long suffering, no pedant, but embellished with dignity of character and achievement—the statesman type, the type of Washington, and Jefferson and Lincoln. We have very few statesmen of this kind now-a-days, I am sorry to say. I'm afraid they are going out of style, but let us perpetuate this type in womanhood by saying that in the suffrage party none but the best shall rule us.

There's but one way to get the best, and that is through the complete democratization of the women of this country. Friends, I wonder if any of us women here to-night have a conception of what complete democracy means. Sometimes I am utterly depressed because of women's attitude toward one another. It ought to be possible for women in every walk of life to meet in free and untrammeled intercourse to talk about our national welfare.

You may think you wouldn't like a social fabric of this warp and woof, that this would be a miracle and miracles do not happen in this age and day. But they do. We all know that heretofore the British Empire has maintained perhaps the proudest aristocracy in the world, yet only a few days ago Sydney Brooks in a lecture at the Colony Club told us that duchesses and serving maids are working side by side in the munitions factories of England. By the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows they are welding together a new order of things. Perhaps, they don't know just what they are driving at, but drive they must until the war lust of men is satisfied.

However, it is not for me to chide or lament on this auspicious occasion. Rather we will address ourselves to the problems of the Borough in a spirit of optimism, to finish up the job so well begun. Let us proceed in the belief that every healthy resolute woman is an organizer, that every human being, if approached in the right way, may become a force for good, and finally, that success may be immediate in this great and glorious cause which we are together undertaking, if we will only put forth our best physical and nervous energy. We are just 40 weeks from election time, our City Chairman says the organization is 100 per cent. stronger than it was 40 weeks before the election of 1915. Friends, Miss Hay and I have some splendid plans for the Borough. If you will only give us the moral and financial support which you must know is necessary for success, Miss Hay and I will meet you at least half way and join hands for victory in 1917."

This stirring inaugural struck a responsive note in leaders and delegates, and the new chairman can be assured of a loyal following in the strenuous forty weeks to come.

AT the Curtis Lyceum, West New Brighton, the Richmond Borough suffragists reelected Mrs. William G. Willcox as chairman. Vice-chairmen are Miss M. Palmer, Miss Hester

Mrs. William G. Willcox

Mrs. David Rodger

Schneider, Mrs. Elmer Butler; corresponding secretary, Mrs. L. W. Clarke; recording secretary, Mrs. J. P. Illsly; treasurer, Miss Amy B. Blake.

In her address Mrs. Willcox in noting meetings and activities requiring special mention gave a list beginning the first week of December, 1915, and continuing to date, when Miss Botsford was speaking at Princes' Bay before the Parents' Association at the Public School. The activities were varied and included interviewing politicians of high and low degree, taking part in "stunts," going up to Albany, canvassing and other forms of work too numerous to mention. As instance of the increase of suffrage sentiment on Staten Island, Mrs. Willcox cleverly and ingenuously pointed out that the Republicans thought the women ought to have the vote to counteract the Democratic tendency of the country, while the Democratic view point was that the election had proved that women were worthy of the vote.

The speaker of the evening was Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, whose subject was "The High Cost of Living." In logical sequence the speaker showed that women are the purveyors for the household, that as dispensers of the family budget the question of cost of living concerns them most deeply, that it is admitted remedies for the present conditions and probably future must be legislative, the inevitable conclusion is that women must have the right through the franchise to determine these remedies and their application.

THE Woman Suffrage Party of Queens Borough met in convention at the Masonic Temple, Jamaica, at three p. m. The attendance was large, and harmony was the keynote of the meeting. Mrs. David Rodger was re-elected chairman; Miss Eliza MacDonald, vice-chairman; Miss Alida Lattimore, recording secretary; Miss Margaret Montgomery, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Harry I. Huber, treasurer.

The speakers were Mrs. F. Robertson Jones who spoke upon politics as directly affecting the interests of women, and Miss Adaline W. Sterling whose topic was loyalty to those whom the Borough placed in authority.

At all the Borough conventions, telegrams were read from the Western States greeting Mrs. Whitehouse, State Chairman, on the opening of the campaign in New York City. One of the most illuminating was sent by Lieutenant Governor Morgan of Kansas, to the men of New York. The message reads:

"The men of Kansas would say to the men of New York they are handicapped by the lack of co-operation of their women folk in public action for better government. Experience has proven benefits of women participating in our government. We hope you will remove your handicap this year."

Mary C. C. Bradford, State Superintendent of Schools of Colorado, telegraphed:

"Congratulations on opening nineteen seventeen campaign. Condolence that New York City women have not yet achieved political freedom. Women of Denver make themselves felt in marked municipal advance and State wide development of educational activities and of natural resources. As a former house citizen of New York, now a full Colorado citizen, I earnestly hope New York men may know the sunrise when they see it, and be ready to greet the day of woman's full emancipation."

The Shift in Anti-Suffrage

Florence Woolston

SINCE the Federal Woman Suffrage amendment became a live political issue, the anti-suffragists have shifted their position. They no longer fight the principle of woman suffrage, but concentrate their opposition upon the Federal amendment as a method of attainment. The usual anti-suffrage bogies; danger to nursing mothers from political canvassers; invasion of the electorate by bad women; frenzied figures which sometimes prove that women will not use the ballot if it is thrust upon them, and sometimes prove that women will overwhelm the polling places if they have the opportunity; lurid pictures of conditions in equal suffrage States—are no longer presented to alarm the public. Even the knitting of anti-suffrage socks for soldiers at the Border has been abandoned. The Antis are massing their forces, prepared even to enter "the dirty maelstrom of politics" if necessary to prevent, not woman suffrage, but a Federal suffrage amendment.

The shift in the anti-suffrage position became noticeable when suffragists and Antis were assembled in Washington last Winter for the Congressional hearings. With truly womanly consideration, the National Asssociation Opposed to Woman Suffrage passed a series of resolutions, "Not to torment Congress," and then proceeded to get all the attention it could from public officials. These resolutions deprecated suffrage activities on behalf of the Federal amendment and called attention to the lack of patriotism exhibited by suffragists in "uselessly annoying the President and Congress." It was with the deepest regret the Antis announced that they must also be unpatriotic and take up the time of the President and Congress.

Following this apology for political activity, a deputation of anti-suffragists called upon President Wilson. The President had recently voted for woman suffrage in New Jersey and had endorsed woman suffrage as a State measure, but the Antis tactfully ignored this and thanked him profusely for his stand against suffrage by Federal action. "Woman's place is in the States," they argued. Mrs. A. J. George, one of the most experienced of the anti-suffrage agitators, concluded her remarks as follows:

"We have not the motto which is upon the button of the suffrage party, 'Suffrage First'—but throughout this country of ours a great majority of our women have for their motto 'America First'; they know that this far-reaching question can best be considered not by any national body or organization, but can best be considered as a State measure, through the opportunities of education within the State, and because we believe that, we believe it is a sham battle that they are asking to participate in when they ask to bring the question of the enfranchisement of women before any national body, whether it is a political organization or otherwise."

Later when the national political parties were considering their platforms, the Antis again assembled and the burden of their plea was not against the enfranchisement of women but against the endorsement of woman suffrage as a national measure. They had become States-rights-ers to the ninth degree.

It was not until Mr. Hughes endorsed the Federal amendment during the Presidential campaign of 1916, that the anti-suffrage situation became acute. Then a dilemma presented itself, for among the anti-suffragists were many Republicans. Obviously, they had to accept the Republican candidate's position on woman suffrage and work for his election, or they must change their political faith in order to take a stand against the Federal amendment. A few anti-suffragists, following the example of Mrs. George Wickersham chose to consider suffrage a minor ill compared to the great good to be attained by Mr. Wilson's defeat. As Mrs. William Force Scott expressed it in an open letter to The New York *Tribune*,—

"Mr. Hughes has won admiration and respect by his sound judgment and his courageous integrity. . . . Mr. Hughes has done and will do what in him lies to destroy democracy and to degrade humanity again to that low state in which men and women labor, fight and love on the same moral and physical plane. . . . He will also have the support of the great body of women who oppose suffrage, who deplore his act, because they will, with the moral backbone bred of anti-suffrage principle, support even the man who betrays them so long as they believe he will not otherwise betray his country."

The rank and file of Antis, however, promptly declared against Mr. Hughes, chosing the lesser evil of a candidate who was only a suffragist by State action. One of the most interesting announcements ever made by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was its intention to enter actively the presidential campaign and work for the election of the man (Mr. Wilson) "blacklisted" by the suffragists.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge promised that a million anti-suffragists would leave their spheres to defeat Mr. Hughes. Whether Mr. Wilson owes

his re-election to this supreme sacrifice of home-loving women, forced by principle to enter the political war, is an open question.

During the campaign a series of letters by well-known anti-suffrage leaders appeared in the newspapers. The following quotations illustrate the unanimity of opinion.

"Suppose, for the sake of argument that granting the ballot to women will rid society of the present noisy discontented minority organized to secure political activities for women, might there not be created a resentful majority righteously indignant that their will had been over-ridden and their energies drafted without their consent into political channels when they are needed in conserving the family and social life? . . . The voters will realize that a candidate who cannot be bullied by a few women, will make a better public servant than a weakling ready to surrender States rights and women's real rights to the suffragist bosses."

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"It is apparent, therefore, that the Republican candidate, in declaring for a Federal suffrage amendment, disfranchising the voters on a question which many of them consider as important as who shall be the President of the United States, has alienated an element in the electorate possessing five times the power necessary to defeat him and re-elect President Wilson, who stands for States rights. If only one anti-suffragist in five of these five States (which recently have had suffrage referenda) votes against Hughes, Wilson will win on a walk!"

Minnie Bronson.

"Does Mr. Hughes really think that if the suffrage leaders get the suffrage they will stop there? No. They will keep up the organization. Having tasted the sweetness of victory over complaisant politicians, they will continue the policy of heckling Presidents, Governors and Legislators. Yielding to importunity is the greatest danger of our Government. It has frequently given us most vicious legislation. . . . Therefore I cannot give my confidence to Mr. Hughes. Like many other Democrats I have at times thought the foreign policy of the Administration inadequate. But I cannot see that Mr. Hughes offers us any definite policy. To surrender without a fight, to yield to importunity—these are not the qualities that the present situation demand."

Everett P. Wheeler.

"It is a severe blow to find that Mr. Hughes is too weak to oppose a handful of women with whose views it is perfectly evident he does not sympathize. In all the suffrage States, the female politician is regarded as a menace. Mr. Hughes, in capitulating to her at the very beginning of his campaign, gives us his measure. He thinks he will gain some women's votes. He will certainly lose many men's votes."

Janet McR. Hill.

The strongest statement of the new position of anti-suffragists was that of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage who said, *"If a cause is right, why not win a fair victory in a fair way, State by State? That is all we ask who oppose it."*

The shift in the anti-suffrage point of view is a good illustration of the way the middle ground changes when a radical measure is under discussion. Some years ago, when militancy was a method of suffrage agitation in England, anti-suffragists joined with conservative suffragists in opposition to militancy. It was not a question, "Are you a suffragist or an Anti?" but "Are you a Militant or an Anti-Militant?"

The present agitation for the Federal amendment has pushed anti-suffragists forward, whether they like to admit it or not. The question is no longer one of principle; it is method. The editorials in *The New York Times,* always opposed to woman suffrage, crystallize the changing sentiment. The editors are so horrified by the activities of the Congressional Union, which works for the Federal amendment by aggressive and spectacular political methods that the policies and activities of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which is non-partisan and working for both State and Federal action, seem highly praiseworthy. Indeed, the *Times* even fears that the activities of the more radical group of suffragists will "injure the cause," which it so persistently seeks to injure in its own editorial columns.

"From the first there has been something unreal, theatrical, impetuous, extravagant about this amendment 'crusade,'" says the *Times.* "The most sagacious, the great majority of the suffragists do not depend on Washington. A few may have turned thither in pique or too quick disappointment after Election Day, but the mass of them, undiscouraged, proud of the impression they made on the electorate, are content to keep on pegging away in the States. There, and only there, are their field and opportunity."

The Governor Did Sign

Rose Young

Press Director, N. A. W. S. A.

THE campaign of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to secure presidential and municipal suffrage for the women of the country through the state legislatures has won its first victory. The North Dakota Votes for Women League, affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association wired Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the latter body, as follows:

"Please accept, with North Dakota's compliments, five more electoral suffrage votes. The governor will sign bill without fail. The bill which is passed is practically the same as the Illinois bill. We are straining every resource toward getting full suffrage in the new constitution."

This means ninety-six electoral votes in which women have a voice. North Dakota women, who are captained by Mrs. Robert Clendenning, president of the Votes for Women League, placed complete reliance upon Governor Frazier's intention to sign the bill and all week long the good word that has gone flashing across country, from suffrage association to suffrage association, has been "The Governor will sign."

On January 23rd expectation became realization, for the Governor in the presence of a group of State suffragists *did* sign the bill.

North Dakota's suffrage history includes a campaign referendum in 1914 (its first and only one). The yes vote at that time was 40,011; the no vote 49,410. Suffrage, therefore, made a good showing even two years ago. Since then suffrage sentiment has steadily gained ground and the North Dakota suffragists are confident that but one more referendum is needed to insure full suffrage to women in their state.

Their presidential suffrage bill is modelled upon that of Illinois. It gives women as much of the right of franchise as it is in the power of most legislatures to bestow. Under its provisions they vote on constitutional amendments, certain county officers, and for all municipal officers, as well as presidential electors. The bill must of necessity be adapted to the constitution of each state and North Dakota's bill varies in small particulars from the Illinois bill. None of the presidential bills give women the right to vote for Congressmen, Senators, legislators or state officials.

It is predicted that many other states will follow the example of North Dakota, whose legislature has been in session only three weeks. A bill for presidential suffrage will be introduced in practically every state legislature in session this winter. In those commonweaths where referenda on suffrage are imminent, the presidential suffrage bill will give way to the more immediate issue.

Aside from the dominant influence exerted by women in the Western States during the November election, the exercise of suffrage by women in Illinois was one of the most conspicuous features of the last election. The hundreds of thousands of votes cast by women in Illinois obliterated suggestions that women are not personally interested in the ballot. The complete exercise of their prerogative in Illinois has, in the opinion of the suffragists, at once proved the vitality of equal suffrage and made apparent the anomaly of permitting suffrage to women in some states and denying it in others.

State legislatures are empowered by the federal constitution to prescribe the qualifications of voters in presidential elections. The presidential suffrage bills in each state will be an acid test of the good faith of suffrage planks in platforms adopted by state conventions. Presidential suffrage bills have their legal status well defined. Six attacks upon the validity of all or parts of the Illinois act resulted in as many court decisions which accurately define the limitations of the act and validate the right granted by it.

The South is not to be behind in this race to enfranchise women. Bills for presidential suffrage, modelled after the Illinois equal suffrage statute, will be introduced in the legislatures of twelve southern states. The special argument upon which the southern women will base their plea is that the grant of suffrage to women in the south will clinch the political supremacy of the white race.

Some eye-opening figures sustain this contention. For instance:

"In four southern states, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, the number of white women exceeds the whole colored population. In Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and Louisiana, woman suffrage would tremendously increase the preponderance of white votes; in Mississippi and South Carolina, where the col-

ored population exceeds the white, equal suffrage would double the intelligent electorate.

Not only would woman suffrage give white-control in these states a more permanent footing now, but, it is pointed out by southern women, that white supremacy will grow with the years because, contrary to popular impression, the increase of white population is more rapid than the increase of colored population. The official estimates of population for 1916, published by the Bureau of the Census, show that the white population in twelve southern states has increased 10.8 per cent. in the last seven years, while the negro population has increased only 5.6 per cent.

Industrial Section Busy.

THE Industrial Section of the Party sounded the trumpet call in its new campaign for suffrage at Stuyvesant High School, 15th Street, on Sunday evening, January 14th.

As a good part of all meetings of the Industrial suffragists are given to chorus singing, this meeting was no exception, and labor songs and suffrage songs were sung with a swing and volume that showed the singers meant every note and every word.

Miss Leonora O'Reilly, City Chairman of the Industrial Section, presided and made the opening speech. The keynote of her address was the new slogan "Ballots for Both!" and "Justice for All!" "The latter phrase," Miss O'Reilly declared, "includes ballots for men and women. The industrial struggle is not limited to either sex alone. Conditions which are bad for women are equally bad for men.

"Women need the vote to help in the solution of such problems as unemployment, hours of work, compensation, health insurance and old age pensions. They need it also to secure good homes, low rents, pure food, and other interests which are the concern of both working men and working women.

"There is great constructive work awaiting to be done in the United States through the intelligent action of *all the people*. New York state should aspire to play a worthy part in this great plan. The first step is the enfranchisement of its women who are ready to give the best there is in them to the service of humanity."

Then the gathering sung another rousing chorus as a welcome to Dante Barton, of the Industrial Relations Committee, who was the second speaker. Mr. Barton went right to the point in his address.

"The conscience of the nation is behind the demand for suffrage," was the opening sentence and continuing the speaker said, "The presidential nominees were pledged to it; the American Federation of Labor is pledged to it.

Old Age Insurance From the Bottom Side.

THE members of the Home Workers Union of the Hudson Guild, New York city, had listened attentively to the exposition of a contributory old-age insurance scheme. At the end of the address a discussion was called for.

Mrs. Haley was the first to respond. She rose with difficulty. Spending the greater part of every day on one's knees scrubbing is not conducive to agility.

"I don't suppose there's one of us here," Mrs. Haley said, "but what's had spells of wondering what's going to happen to us when we get too old to work any more. Now this insurance plan, so far as I can make it out, seems to be a mighty good thing for most men and a mighty poor one for most women. Men that's working steady won't have any trouble, as their part of the insurance will be paid regularly by their employer out of their wages. And some women will be fixed the same way. But how about women that goes out by the day and has maybe four or five different employers every week? How about us? This insurance don't seem to give any plan for getting us a share. Don't we get old too? And won't we need the money as bad as the others?"

"Anyhow we're after makin' something as long as we can keep goin'," put in Mrs. Murphy, "and there'll maybe be some way for us that's earnin' to get in on the insurance even if our employment ain't regular. But what's to become of the woman that stays at home and takes care of the house and raises the children? It seems to me she's the worst off of all of us. Maybe her husband will get some insurance if he lives long enough, but like as not it won't be enough for both of them, and why isn't her work as deservin' of a reward as his? Goodness knows it ain't any easier."

"Folks with families has their children to depend on," suggested Mary Mulligan.

"I've had ten children," said Mrs. Harrigan, "and I've got them all pretty well raised. There ain't one of them that would refuse me a home when I get too old to do for myself, but some of them has families of their own already and all of them will probably have about as much as they can do to look out for themselves and their children. I've always felt so far that I was earnin' my way even if I wasn't getting paid for it and I don't like the idea of getting to be a burden to anyone."

"It's straight old-age pensions like army men gets and not insurance that we're needin' in my opinion," said Mrs. Mulligan.

"And I can tell you, ladies," added Mrs. Murphy impressively, "that we won't be after gettin' any of it until we have the vote."—*The Survey*, January, 1917.

State Suffrage Schools

Miss Elinor Byrnes

A CLEVER educational scheme was launched at Buffalo on January 9. It may be described as a sort of back-to-ancient Greece school with modern improvements. The philosopher who instructs her followers in suffrage lore is Miss Elinor Byrnes, a lawyer of New York City. The peripatetic part of the plan does not require teacher and disciples to walk in shady groves, the one imparting and the others receiving knowledge. Modern improvement comes in just here, the railroad brings the instructor to the designated cities, and the useful trolley car, or the equally useful but more aristocratic automobile, conveys the pupils to the place of assembly.

The project which is meeting with remarkable success is a state wide suffrage school extending over a period of three months. The topics of study include the history of woman suffrage, the legal position of women, and the status of Federal and State suffrage amendments given by lecture. The school has been undertaken to meet a pressing demand from women themselves who desire a sound foundation of facts upon which to base their suffrage activities so that they may work intelligently. For another thing these same women wish to acquire knowledge before their enfranchisement, that they may waste no time in taking up their civic duties after the vote comes to them next November.

Miss Byrnes who is the head of this novel college faculty will be remembered for an interesting article in the New Republic last year in which she voiced the sentiment of the women lawyers that practising law is not to be a mere playing a game. "I want to practice law," said Miss Byrnes, "if it means finding out what the law is in any given case, helping to have that case decided by the law. But I do not want to practise law if it means playing a game in which my part is to help any clients to do what they please no matter what the law is." So she finds it worth while to devote the next three or four months to a chain of suffrage schools that will awaken alert minds to new ways of carrying on a vigorous suffrage campaign, and which will also be a preparation for citizenship.

The course of instruction is very practical, lectures are followed by reviews and questions, and the training is turning out efficient workers. The interest in the course is evidenced by the attendance. When the school was opened in Buffalo, women came in great numbers not only from the city itself but from the suburbs and adjacent towns The idea has so thoroughly commended itself that school superintendents, college professors, and politicians are becoming members of local faculties. Most valuable is the instruction given by practical politicians as to the organization and management of political parties on the broadest lines.

From Buffalo the progress of the school has led through Lockport, Cuba and Wellsville to Albany where the session was opened on January 23rd by Mrs. Whitehouse, State Chairman, in a telling speech which quite absolved the women of the country from the charge of having caused the Republican defeat. The State Chairman suggested if there was any bitterness engendered through women of the West holding the balance of power, there are two ways to avoid this feeling:—either to disfranchise the women of the West or to enfranchise the women of the whole country, adding that no state that had enfranchised women would ever reverse its action.

When the Albany session is concluded, Miss Byrnes will establish suffrage schools in the principal "up state cities" including Watertown, the home of Senator Brown, who it is hoped may make opportunity to learn how women are fitting themselves for their future responsibilities.

Milestones on the Road

Indiana Heard From.

ONE of the main issues before the Indiana Legislature this session will be a bill granting women partial suffrage. Under the state constitution Indiana women cannot get full suffrage, but offices created by legislative enactment may be covered under a partial suffrage law, while those created by the constitution are out of reach.

The bill is the draft of the Legislative Council of Indiana Women and is similar to a bill which passed the Senate two years ago but failed in the House.

As drawn up the bill provides for woman suffrage on presidential electors, delegates to the constitutional convention, attorney general, chief of the bureau of statistics, State Geologist, reporter of the supreme and appellate courts, judges of the appellate court, superior court judges, criminal court judges, probate judges, juvenile court judges, member of county councils, county assessors, township trustees, township advisory boards and township assessors. It includes also all city officers, elective school officers, and all other elective officers not provided for in the constitution.

The bill provides for votes for women on all questions submitted to the people, including the ratification of a new constitution. The women also ask to be permitted to vote at primaries.

Separate Ballots

An equal suffrage bill was introduced in the lower house of the Nebraska Legislature on January 22nd permitting women to vote for presidential electors, municipal officials and all other elective officers, except those mentioned in the state constitution whose election is restricted to the male voters. United States Senators and Congressmen are not in the list of those for whom women might vote.

Separate ballots and ballot boxes for women are provided in this bill, as is the case in Illinois, for facilitating the count of the vote.

From Little "Rhody."

The new governor of Rhode Island, R. Livingston Beeckman, a Republican, evidently does not subscribe to the anti saying "suffrage is going." In his inaugural speech on January 2nd, the Governor urged immediate consideration of the amendment extending presidential franchise to women. He also favored the early submission of an amendment abolishing the property qualification of voters in Rhode Island. This property qualification is a survival of the aristocratic spirit of early colonial days.

The Farmers Speak.

Farmers as well as farmers' wives appear to consider woman suffrage a very live issue. The Pomona Grange of Oneida County, New York, put itself on record by a resolution passed at its annual meeting in Utica on January 3rd.

The resolution reads: "Resolved, That being fully convinced of the undeniable justice of woman suffrage, we, the members of Pomona grange of Oneida county, in executive session assembled, do hereby pledge it our support, and by vote and voice, will do all in our power to secure the franchise for the women of New York State."

A Labor Endorsement.

Suffrage both State and National received the enthusiastic support of the Labor Publicity Convention at its gathering in New York City last month. The endorsement came in the form of the following measure, which was seconded by many cordial speeches:

Whereas the State of New York has 800,000 working women in its population, and

Whereas the most costly production of any State and its most valuable asset is its output of healthy, happy, efficient men and women, and

Whereas working women as an unenfranchised class are continually used to lower the standards of life of all workers, and

Whereas every thinking working woman realizes her individual and social responsibility toward controlling the conditions under which she must sell her labor, and

Whereas we realize the power of the Ballot will give her and her fellow workers, therefore be it

Resolved that the Labor Publicity Convention understanding the spirit and aspiration of the labor movement hereby pledge active service to the efforts of working women of New York State to obtain full citizenship and thereby make the struggle for the protection of the rights of working women immeasurably more secure through self-expression at the Ballot box.

Retaining Her Citizenship.

The naturalization laws of the United States as they apply to women are not very unlike the naturalization laws of other countries. They are based in one respect, at least, on the assumption that individuality is lost by marriage. The naturalization of women is restricted to unmarried alien women, and the foreign-born widows of aliens (who were not naturalized).

The law provides that the citizenship and allegiance of a woman married to an alien is governed by that of the husband. The courts hold that during the existence of the marriage relations with an alien, a woman can neither be naturalized upon her own petition, nor file a valid declaration of intention.

But should the alien husband have declared his intention of becoming a citizen should die before he received his certificate of citizenship, his widow if she wishes may proceed upon the declaration of the deceased husband. A foreign woman if she acquires citizenship by marriage, and she become a widow, or the marital relation terminates for other reason retains her citizenship as long as she remains a resident of the United States, unless she make formal renunciation before a naturalization court.

Now for the American woman. She may be descended from men who established the nation, she may herself have rendered distinguished service to the country. But if she marries a foreigner she immediately takes on the character of an alien. She has lost her citizenship and has become a citizen of a land she may never have seen or never may see. She may be a full fledged citizen of a suffrage state and may have cast her vote as such citizen, but marriage with an alien deprives her of the right of franchise. The Supreme Court of the United States affirmed a decision of a California court that an American woman married to an alien cannot vote in that state. Conversely a foreign woman married to an American man would be an American citizen. It seems to be a case of women without a country of their choice.

Women's organizations in many countries are taking a widespread and spontaneous interest in the legal subjection of women resulting from the rule now almost universally in force that a married woman shall be deemed to be of the same nationality as her husband. Within the last six months resolutions have been passed by the French National Union for Woman Suffrage, which urged that foreign women marrying Frenchmen should have the right to keep their nationality; by the Swedish National Association for Woman Suffrage, which asked that a woman who marries an alien shall retain her nationality as long as she resides in the country of her birth; by the Swiss National Woman Suffrage Association, which urged that a married woman should have the right to be naturalized on her own account and recommended a study of the question by the International Suffrage Alliance; by the Dutch National Council of Women, which protested against the laws of nationality as they affect married women and urged the National Councils in the International Council of Women to investigate the question; and by the British Dominions Women's Suffrage Union, which urged that married women should not be deprived of their nationality against their will and recommended the women of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa to seek to amend the nationality bills which the governments of these Dominions have agreed to introduce into their respective parliaments.

In Certain Cases.

A bill entitled "An act for the extension of suffrage in certain cases was introduced in the New Hampshire Senate by Senator Collins on January 11th, and was referred to the committee on the revision of laws.

It reads: "Any person, whether male or female, but in all respects except sex qualified to vote for State Senators, may vote for electors for President, and Vice-President of the United States, for county officers and for town and city officials and in town and city affairs."

As New Hampshire departed from its rock-ribbed ways in the Presidential election, it may set the example of partial suffrage in the Eastern States.

A Woman Inspector.

Governor Keyes, of New Hampshire, believes the Legislature of 1917 should pass a law for factory inspection, providing for better working conditions and the safeguarding of dangerous machinery. "One of these inspectors," said the Governor, "should be a woman with practical knowledge of the conditions under which women work in the mills and factories of New Hampshire." The Governor would also limit the hours of labor for women and children to fifty-four hours a week.

Going Into Politics

It would appear that our friends of the opposition have arrived at the pass when they feel obliged to "go into politics in order to keep out of politics." This really seems in direct contravention of that creed so solemnly put forth in Washington a few weeks ago.

"We anti-suffragists," reads this article of faith, "stand for the conservation of the best of American womanhood in all conditions and circumstances of life, for the preservation of the home, for the retention of the best ideals of preceding generations adapted to the advantages and opportunities given them under the modern conditions.

"We believe that women, according to their leisure, opportunity and experience, should take part increasingly in civic and municipal affairs, as they always have done in charitable, philanthropic and educational opportunities, and we believe that this can best be done by women without the ballot, as a non-partisan body of disinterested workers."

There is a little confusion and lack of definiteness about this utterance as to whether this applies in its first clause to the particular organizations or to women generally. As to the second part of the proposition there is no doubt that it is intended for "members only."

Strange as it may appear to the other side the suffragists stand for the conservation of the best *in* American womanhood, for the widening of opportunity, for the preservation of the home by bettering conditions which surround the home, for the uplift and welfare of women, men and children. We would have the best ideal of American thought—The Declaration of Independence adapted to modern conditions—and applied to modern conditions so that all people, men and women, shall in reality be free and equal. Law knows no sex in application, it should therefore know none in recognition.

We do not dispute possession of the second clause of the creed. These is something naive and unique in the idea of women without the ballot taking part "increasingly" in civic and municipal affairs. Yet the attempt would be praiseworthy and most enlightening even though disappointing as to result. Participation in civic and municipal affairs sooner or later brings the participants in contact with legislation. Then the women without compelling power find themselves again thrown back upon the old methods of indirect influence or so-called "feminine wiles."

But our friends are leaving this part of their creed in abeyance for the time being. They are really going into politics. Their job is comprehended in the statement of a prominent Anti, an advocate of the home and sphere: "In New York we must, therefore, make a dual campaign during the coming year (1917) working against the Federal amendment as well as working to defeat woman suffrage again at the polls in November. Anti-suffrage is the appeal of women doing woman's work and doing it cheerfully and to the extent of their strength not to be thrust into politics merely to defend themselves politically against other women. It is the woman's movement in the cause of women."

Again that slight confusion of expression. Voteless, the alluring picture of women of one mind; vote possessing, the picture of women with minds of their own. However that may be, these kind souls who don't care for the vote are really going dangerously near "the maelstrom" to try to keep the vote away from women who do want it.

They are going to wage a great campaign in New York State; they will make a record appeal to the people, that is to half the people; forsaking the home they will approach congressmen and legislators; they will possibly do things, "temperamentally repulsive," for they must "keep constantly on the watch." They are going to train speakers in the fundamentals and in the up-to-date problems. They are really working themselves up into a state of mind very prejudicial to that judicial calm which bowls the legislator over at their very appearance.

Whether by original intention or by accident, the anti-suffragists have gone into politics, they have virtually thrust themselves into the position. Moreover, the basis on which they stand is negative and inherently weak. Woman suffrage *is* a political issue inasmuch as it is a human issue, and politics in the best meaning of the word is the concern of every human being. Opposition must proceed on the same line as advocacy. We claim suffrage as a human right and a question of principle. Against this must be opposed something more convincing than general denial, or bringing forward "expediency" as an argument. Expediency is at the root of all political evil. "Expediency has mortgaged the future that the present may drink the wine of its conceit."

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

Boots and The Man.

"I wear boots and I speak out in meeting. I regard a noble woman as God's masterpiece, but I do not believe it was ever intended that woman should sing bass, dig sewers, or shoulder a gun in the trenches."—*Judge G. W. Burnell,* Oshkosh, Wis.

Overheard at an Afternoon Function.

Mrs. D., rising to take leave,—"So glad to have made your acquaintance, Mrs. R. I have so enjoyed our chat on anti-suffrage."

Mrs. R.—"Yes, so have I, I find so few anti-suffragists now-a-days that it has been a real treat to meet one and discuss this subject of mutual interest."—*Hattie B. Michael.*

Conclusive!

"Concerning woman suffrage, I am opposed to it on principle not only because I hold its demand unwise, unnecessary, inexpedient and not founded on justice, but for many other reasons satisfactory to me."—*Mrs. James B. Wells.*

Blame the Voters.

"Some idea of the tranquilizing of domestic relations which is likely to follow woman suffrage may be gained from the municipal election at Umatilla, Oregon, on the 6th of December, at which Mrs. E. E. Starcher was elected mayor, having defeated her husband, who headed the opposing ticket."—*The Remonstrance.*

Broad versus Narrow.

"Before your daughters, at a plastic age, go to boarding-school or college, see to it that they have been well influenced by our sane ideals! The college girl, not particularly interested in the suffrage question, and full of other interests, has heard for years only suffrage arguments through suffrage speakers at her college and through social intercourse with her teachers. This surely does not seem like a broad education. Only Radcliffe and Wellesley have anti-suffrage organizations. Vassar and Bryn Mawr have most active suffrage leagues, and so have Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke, Barnard and Jackson, and Pembroke is organizing such a league. * * * We have delayed too long in reaching the college girl!"—*Mrs. Thomas Allen,* Chairman, Anti-Suffrage League of Massachusetts Women.

The great and insuperable objection to the extension of the suffrage to women is fundamental and functional.

It rests upon the difference that nature has established between men and women.—*Justice Francis M. Scott,* Constitutional Convention, 1894.

Why We Left Home.

"We believe, with Mr. Root, 'the American Republic is not merely to be talked about, but to be maintained and safe-guarded by a virile and patriotic people.'

"We wish to do our part in this work, whether it be temperamentally repulsive, or in grooves where we feel at home and work is joy. We are here to strengthen one another, and to proclaim that the great body of contented, quiet, home-loving American women do not desire political privileges, nor the franchise that expresses them."—*Mrs. J. D. Gilfillan.*

Other Women, Other Opinions.

"We say it is an outrage that women as busy as the anti-suffrage women are should be forced to come out and work like slaves to protest against something they never should have had put up to them in the first place.

"The anti-suffragists are busy women in the main, and they have found it difficult to adjust themselves to the necessity of active, aggressive work in opposition in this thing. When there is an attempt to thrust women into political life, at the sacrifice of their ideals, and the sacrifice of the youth of this country, and the welfare of the little children, there is a greater danger confronting us than the menace of any war, and it is high time the women of this land buckle on their armor and fight."—*Mrs. H. C. Talbott.*

Twenty Years Ago.

"Permit me to thank you for the editorials in The Outlook upon woman suffrage. Such wise and timely words must be gratefully appreciated by thousands of women who do not wish to have the ballot thrust hastily into their hands. These women are neither 'lazy nor indifferent' to public affairs, as would-be reformers assert; they are thoughtful and conscientious. They have studied somewhat the problems of municipal and temperance reform, and of the school question. * * * They acknowledge that women may have the right to vote, but they do not deem it expedient that they should seek to exercise this right."—*A. S. C.,* The Outlook, 5 May, 1894.

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by
Adaline W. Sterling

THINGS are moving in Manhattan Borough. The Chairman, Mrs. John H. Watkins, is making personal acquaintance with the district leaders and is familiarizing herself with the work of every district. Since election every leader has been invited to Borough Headquarters to meet the Chairman in conference as to how the work may be most effectively carried on.

THE 25th Assembly District has a Terpsichorean plan of propaganda for every Saturday evening, from eight-thirty to eleven-thirty o'clock. In an old fashioned private house, 47 Fifth Avenue, gives a dance on Saturdays. Miss Stebbins, Miss Lawson, Miss Neilson and other members of the district, assisted by Mrs. John Blair, Mrs. Glackens, Miss Jane Thompson, Mrs. Gillette and Mrs. Van Zile act as hostesses in turn to those who like to dance. There is no high cost connected with the entertainment, the admission is fifty cents, and modest refreshments are supplied at a moderate price. Suffrage somehow comes in with the latest dance steps. How can be ascertained any Saturday evening.

THE 27th Assembly District has arranged to have an "open house" every Thursday evening at Headquarters, 48 East 34th street beginning at eight o'clock. Music, suffrage talk, refreshments and a pleasant hour are the attractions offered. Men and women living in the district are cordially invited to attend.

QUEENS BOROUGH has opened headquarters at Jamaica and Guion avenues Richmond Hill. These headquarters will be maintained throughout the campaign. On January 27th by direction of the Borough Executive Board, an election of officers in the 2nd Assembly District was held at the residence of Mrs. Judd, Forest Hills. The officers chosen were Mrs. Maude G. Judd, leader, Forest Hills; Mrs. W. D. Hamilton, recording secretary, Flushing; Mrs. A. M. Woolfson, corresponding secretary, Forest Hills; and Dr. Julia Wygant Perry, treasurer, Forest Hills. Active work will be immediately begun in the district which has already a very good voting membership.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH conducted a successful Suffrage School during the past month. The course was held in the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers, and was directed by Miss Emma Johnson, principal of the Training School; Miss Cora L. Barber and Miss Kate E. Turner of Erasmus High School and Miss Charlotte Smith of the Girls High School.

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party
Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City
Headquarters—48 East 34th Street
Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street
Honorary Chairman—
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Vice-Chairmen—
Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, 68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn
Mrs. F. Robertson Jones, 154 E. 37th Street
Miss Annie Doughty, Queens, L. I.
Mrs. Sydney Borg, Ritz-Carlton Hotel
Mrs. Dudley Field Malone, 270 Riverside Drive
Secretary—
Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street
Corresponding Secretary—
Miss Adaline W. Sterling, 195 Claremont Avenue
Treasurer—
Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, 317 West 74th Street

MANHATTAN BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, 350 Park Avenue

BROOKLYN BOROUGH—
Headquarters—342 Livingston Street.
Chairman—Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, 35 Remsen Street

BRONX BOROUGH—
Headquarters—Third Ave., Corner 149th St.
Chairman—Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, 631 East 168th Street

QUEENS BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. David R. Rodger, Richmond Hill, L. I.

RICHMOND BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. William G. Willcox, 115 Davis Avenue, West New Brighton

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The Woman Suffrage Party is organized to win the vote for women. It follows the regular plan of the political parties, having a leader in each Assembly District and a captain in each Election District. Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman who believes in equal suffrage.

If you believe in the principle of democracy, come into our ranks; every one is welcome. Send your name and address to 48 East 34th Street. Remember that every name counts.

Should It Come to a Vote

There is a possibility that Congress in both Senate and House may bring to a vote the Susan B. Anthony resolution now pending. The resolution is in this form:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely

Article .....

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

If a favorable vote is had upon the proposition then the amendment goes to the legislatures of the forty-eight States of the Union. The affirmative vote of three-fourths, or thirty-six of these States, will carry the amendment. The procedure of obtaining this amendment is that authorized by Article V. of the Constitution of the United States and has already served to amend the Constitution seventeen times. It must be noted that the President takes no part in the proposal of an amendment, and has no power of veto.

If action is taken by the Sixty-fourth Congress, it will be well for the Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York to know the names and districts of the Congressmen who represent the city of five counties. The names follow: II. Charles P. Caldwell, Dem., Queens; III., Joseph V. Flynn, Dem., Kings; IV., Harry H. Dale, Dem., Kings; V., James P. Maher, Dem., Kings; VI., Frederick W. Rowe, Rep., Kings; VII., J. J. Fitzgerald, Dem., Kings; VIII., Daniel J. Griffin, Dem., Kings; IX., O. W. Swift, Rep., Kings; X., R. L. Haskell, Rep., Kings; XI., Daniel J. Riordan, Dem., Richmond; XII., Meyer M. London, Soc., New York; XIII., G. W. Loft, Dem., New York; XIV., M. F. Farley, Dem., New York; XV., Michael F. Conroy, Dem., New York; XVI., Peter Dooling, Dem., New York; XVII., J. F. Carew, Dem., New York; XVIII., T. G. Patten, Dem., New York; XIX., Walter M. Chandler, Rep., New York; XX., Isaac Siegel, Rep., New York; XXI., G. M. Hulbert, Dem., New York; XXII., Henry Bruckner, Dem., New York and Bronx; William S. Bennett, Rep., New York and Bronx; XXIV., W. R. Oglesby, Dem., Bronx (part). The Senator from New York residing in Manhattan is James A. O'Gorman. Many of these men are on record.

It will be well for every member of the Party to bear in mind the number of the Congressional District in which she lives, the name of her Congressman, the number of her Assembly and Senatorial Districts, and the names of these representatives in the State Legislature.

Should the amendment not come to a vote before the expiration of the present Congress, March 4th, then work will be transferred to the succeeding Congress. We are confident that we shall win by State Referendum next November and our work in Congress will go to aid other states having constitutions so iron-clad that an amendment of the same is almost an impossibility.

Keep also in mind that the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which we are affiliated through our State organization, is not the organization which uses spectacular methods. Its work is conducted with the utmost dignity, and it gives no opportunity for criticism deserved or undeserved.

Impressions of an Anti Speech

Ladies, ladies, you whose pleasure
Is to spend your wealth and leisure
Finding facts to harm and vex
Other members of your sex,
We have some delightful news,
Most consistent with our views:
A young girl, as we predicted,
Of a murder was convicted.
She is guilty, all agree,
Ah, I knew how pleased you'd be.
All the facts are low and snappy,
They will make you very happy.

—*Alice Duer Miller, The Tribune.*

Woman Suffrage Party Directory 1917

Manhattan

1st A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Margaret Fay, 222 Spring St.
Secretary, Miss Alice Kehoe, 1 Hubert St.

2nd A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. R. K. Spivacke, 253 East Broadway.
Secretary, Miss Kolchinsky, 242 Henry St.

3rd A. D.—

4th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Anna Kleinberg, 70 Sheriff St.
Secretary, Miss Julia Zeltner, 293 Henry St.

5th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Katherine Cunningham, 323 W. 14th St.
Secretary, Miss Maude Flippin, 26 Jones St.

6th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Esther Lerner, 380 E. 8th St.

7th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Harvey Wiley Corbett, 443 W. 21st St.
Secretary, Miss A. E. Carleson, 234 W. 21st St.

8th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Harris Koppelman, 144 Rivington St.
Secretary, Miss Rose Theaman, 142 Rivington St.

9th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. John Zimmermann, 538 Ninth Ave.

10th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. A. Friptu, 124 Second Ave.
Secretary, Miss E. Rosenzweig, 320 E. 9th St.

11th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. K. Buckley Withrow, 455 W. 51st St.
Secretary, Miss E. Delaney, 307 W. 46th St.

12th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Edward S. Van Zile, 17 Livingston Pl.
Secretary, Mrs. William K. Pierce, 17 Livingston Pl.

13th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. M. Parisen, 408 W. 57th St.
Secretary, Mrs. I. Shail, 408 W. 57th St.

14th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Maud Haas, 238 E. 36th St.
Secretary, Miss Ethel Cullen, 148 E. 30th St.

15th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Emily M. Hooper, 130 W. 74th St.
Secretary, Miss A. W. Browne, 650 Amsterdam Ave.

16th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Marie Johnstone, 240 E. 50th St.
Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Dinwiddie, 242 E. 50th St.

17th A. D.—
Leader, Miss B. Cecil Howard, 60 W. 101st St.
Secretary, Miss Olive Eccles, 758 West End Ave.

18th A. D.—

19th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Robert T. Oliver, 211 W. 101st St.
Secretary, Mrs. W. B. Winslow, 490 Riverside Drive.

20th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Louise A. Flynn, 149 E. 81st St.

21st A. D. —
Leader, Miss Annie Matthews, 63 W. 127th St.
Secretary, Mrs. Alberta K. Stone, 622 W. 137th St.

22nd A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. G. Oestreicher, 1664 First Ave.
Secretary, Miss Therese Elowitch, 507 E. 87th St.

23rd A. D. N.—
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Secretary, Miss Laura E. W. Benedict, 601 W. 192nd St.

23rd A. D. S.—
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Secretary, Miss Hortense Hanks, 323 Edgecomb Ave.

24th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Mae Bowers, 237 E. 104th St.

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Secretary, Miss Anita Nielson, 15 E. 10th St.

26th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Dinat Verzinsky, 13 E. 96th St.

27th A. D.—
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Secretary, Mrs. L. T. McCutcheon, 201 W. 55th St.

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Secretary, Miss E. Novello, 238 E. 107th St.

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Secretary, Mrs. J. L. Derby.

30th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss J. Byrne, 156 E. 122nd St.

31st A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Emily Weisberg, 110 W. 113th St.
Secretary, Miss Vera Babcock, 92 Morningside Ave.

Brooklyn

1st A. D.—
Leader, Miss Martha Garside, 103 Joralemon St.
Secretary, Miss M. R. Fitzpatrick, 62 Montague St.

2nd A. D.—
Leader, Miss Katharine Wiley, 174 Nassau St.
Secretary, Mrs. George Rae, 42 Johnson St.

3rd A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Helen Dunn, 554 Clinton St.

4th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Ethel Emerson, 632 Bedford Ave.

5th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Mary F. Merwin, 668 Hancock St.

6th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss Anna Meyrowitz, 230 Pulaski St.

7th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Mary E. Giese, 156 Huntington St.
Secretary, Miss L. Taylor, 479 Clinton Ave.

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Secretary, Mrs. John Emslie, 379 Degraw St.

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Secretary, Miss Julia Husson, 257 Carlton Ave.

11th A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss M. L. Waterman, 179 Lefferts Pl.

12th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Adele Frank, 21 Montgomery Pl.
Secretary, Miss Grace Frank, 21 Montgomery Pl.

13th A. D.—
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14th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Sadie Willner, 3218 Surf Ave.
Secretary, Miss E. Schwartz, 352 Bedford Ave.

15th A. D.—
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Secretary, Mrs. G. Murray.

16th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Charles Lesser, 1410 Ave. H.
Secretary, Mrs. C. F. Lindloff, 215 Ave. F.

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Secretary, Miss Linda T. Hanks, 950 Marcy Ave.

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Secretary, Mrs. H. Winchester, 1054 Sterling Pl.

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Secretary, Miss N. Landesberg, 123 Varet St.

22nd A. D.—
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Secretary, Mrs. W. R. Nixon, 562 Jerome Ave.

23rd A. D.—
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Secretary, Miss S. Sandler, 1805 Pitkin Ave.

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Leader, Miss Alice V. Conklin, 1945 Benedict Ave.

32nd A. D. S.—
Leader, Mrs. Thomas Martin, 296 Alexander Ave.

33rd A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. Frances Morrison, 720 Trinity Ave.

34th A. D.—
Leader, Miss Elizabeth Hoagland, 667 E. 163rd St.

35th A. D.—
Leader, Mrs. J. K. Small, Curry Ave. and 207th St.

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Secretary, Miss E. V. Murphy, 34 Cooper St., L. I. City.

2nd A. D.—
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Secretary, Mrs. A. M. Woolfson, Forest Hills.

3rd A. D.—
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Secretary, Mrs. J. L. Steinam, Morse Court, Far Rockaway.

4th A. D.—
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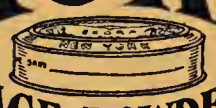

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